

Message Text

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, UR, JA, XB

SUBJ: SOVIET VIEWS OF ASIA: JAPAN IN THE MIDDLE

REF: A) MOSCOW 12769; B) MOSCOW 12294

1. SUMMARY. CONTINUING THEIR HEAVY ATTENTION TO DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIA, SOVIET MEDIA HAVE FOCUSED ON JAPAN AS THE LINK BETWEEN U.S. AND CHINESE ATTEMPTS TO STRENGTHEN THEIR OWN POSITIONS IN THE REGION. MOSCOW DENOUNCES SECRETARY SCHLESINGERS'S ALLEGED PLAN TO HAVE JAPAN ASSUME A MORE ACTIVE MILITARY ROLE IN ASIA, AND PEKING'S EFFORTS TO DRAW JAPAN INTO AN ANTI-SOVIET ALLIANCE THROUGH THE CONCLUSION OF THE "HEGEMONISTIC" PEACE TREATY. WITHOUT QUITE ALLEGING COLLUSION, THE SOVIETS HINT DARKLY THAT PEKING'S AND WASHINGTON'S EFFORTS ARE COMPLEMENTARY, AND WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO FURTHER TENSIONS IN ASIA. TO BRING DETENTE TO THE AREA, THE SOVIETS PRESCRIBE THEIR ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY PRO-
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POSAL AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY. END SUMMARY.

2. A SPATE OF SOVIET COMMENTARIES ON ASIA IN THE PAST TWO WEEKS FOCUSES ON JAPAN AS THE TARGET OF U.S. AND CHINESE EFFORTS TO SHIFT THE BALANCES OF FORCES AGAINST SOVIET INTERESTS AND THOSE OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIA COUNTRIES. THREE COMMENTARIES IN THE PAST FOUR DAYS (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, SEPTEMBER 9; PRAVDA, SEPTEMBER 10; TELEVISION NEWS, SEPTEMBER 10;) REPEAT THE BURNERS ON THE PROPOSED JAPAN-CHINA TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, ESPECIALLY THE CLAUSE OPPOSING "HEGEMONY" BY THIRD COUNTRIES. BY MEANS OF THIS TREATY, SAYS MOSCOW, PEKING SEEKS TO BRING JAPAN INTO ITS ANTI-SOVIET SPHERE, AND TO EXPAND ITS OWN HEGEMONY OVER THE COUNTRIES TO THE SOUTH. THE MOST AUTHORITATIVE OF THESE THREE ITMES IS THE PRAVDA COMMENTARY, AUTHORED BY M. SLADKOVSKIY, DIRECTOR OF THE FAR EAST INSTITUTE, WHICH CONCLUDES THAT THE NEXT ROUND OF JAPAN-CHINA TALKS WILL SHOW WHETHER JAPAN CAN KEEP THE TREATY ISSUE FROM HARMING JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. THIS SOVIET TREATMENT DIFFERS LITTLE IN SUBSTANCE FROM THAT LAST SPRING, BUT ITS RESURGENCE NOW PROBABLY REFLECTS NEW SOVIET ANXIETY THAT JAPAN WILL ACCEPT THE "HEGEMONY" WORDKING. THE TELEVISION COMMENTATOR ASSUMED AS MUCH AND CRITICIZED THE JAPANESE FOR BEING DUPED WILLINGLY.

3. THE SOVIETS ALSO COMMENTED SHARPLY ON SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S REPORTED REMARKS THAT JAPAN SHOULD ASSUME MORE OF THE BURDEN FOR ITS OWN SECURITY. PRAVDA (SEPT 1, SEPT 7) AND KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (SEPT 6) CHARGED THAT "THE PENTAGON" SEEKS TO BOLSTER AMERICA'S DECLINING POSITION IN ASIA AFTER VIETNAM BY FASHIONING A NEW U.S.-JAPAN-SOUTH KOREAN ALLIANCE, AND BY ASKING JAPAN TO ASSUME A LARGER MILITARY ROLE IN ASIA. SUCH A PLAN "DISTURBS" DEMOCRATIC CIRCLES IN JAPAN AND ELSEWHERE, ACCORDING TO PRAVDA.

4. THE KRASNAYA ZVEZDA COMMENTARY (BY A. MALYSHKIN) GOES ON TO CHARGE THAT TOKYO'S POSITION ON MILITARY COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. SERVES THE WISHES OF THOSE "RIGHTIST CIRCLES" IN JAPAN WHICH FAVOR THE EARLY CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY WITH PEKING TO COMPLEMENT THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY AND TO KEEP AMERICAN FORCES IN ASIA. IZVESTIYA (SEPT 11) ALSO CARRIES A SHARP ATTACK (FROM ITS TOKYO CORRESPONDENT YU. BANDURA) ON JSP LEADER SASAKI, FOR ALLEGEDLY SERVING AS A MOUTHPIECE FOR PEKING'S ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC. IT QUOTES SASAKI AS ADMITTING CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT PEKING DOES NOT OBJECT TO THE U.S. PRESENCE IN JAPAN.

5. MEANWHILE THE DRUMBEAT OF OTHER ANTI-PEKING COMMENTARY CONTINUES, WITH IZVESTIYA (SEPT 10) CARRYING A LONG GLOSS BY O. VLADIMIROV OF THE AUGUST ARTICLE IN KOMMUNIST (REF A). VLADIMIROV (PROBABLY A PSEUDONYM) ADDS FOUR SPECIFIC EXAMPLES TO SUPPORT HIS CHARGES THAT PEKING HAS ACTED AGGRESSIVELY AGAINST ITS NEIGHBORS OVER A FIFTEEN YEAR PERIOD:

THE "PROVOCATIONS" IN THE TAIWAN STRAITS IN 1958, THE BORDER CONFLICT WITH INDIA IN 1959-62, THE "ARMED ATTACKS ON THE SOVIET BORDER" IN 1969 AND THE "ARMED OCCUPATION" OF THE PARACELS IN 1974. HE GOES ON TO COMPLAIN THAT BACK IN THE DAYS WHEN PEKING FOLLOWED THE "SOCIALIST" PATH, "ANTI-COMMUNIST" VOICES BRANDED CHINA AS AN "AGGRESSOR." NOW, WHEN THE MAOISTS FOLLOW A COURSE AGAINST PEACE AND SECURITY, THESE SAME VOICES "ROMANTICIZE" MAOISM AND SEE CHINA AS AN INNOCENT VICTIM.

6. THE SOVIETS PRESCRIBE ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY (ACS) AS THE CURE TO THE ALLEGED EFFORTS BY THE MAOISTS, THE U.S. AND "CERTAIN CIRCLES" IN JAPAN TO PERPETURATE TENSIONS IN ASIA. THE HELSINKI SUMMIT AND THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF J-J DAY HAVE PROMPTED ALMOST DAILY MENTION OF THE ACS NOTION OF SOVIET MEDIA. THE MOST COMPLETE DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN BY KUDRYAVTSEV IN IZVESTIYA (AUGUST 27, REF B) AND BY TIKHVINSKIY IN NEW TIMES (NO. 35, AUGUST 29. THESE ITEMS REITERATE THAT MOSCOW'S ACS PROPOSAL IS NOT DIRECTED AT ANYONE AND MUST INCLUDE ALL ASIAN COUNTRIES, BUT THEY GO ON TO CHARGE THAT "THE MAOISTS" OPPOSE IT AND THEREBY REVEAL THEIR OWN HEGEMONISTIC AMBITIONS. TIKHVINSKIY ALSO EXPLICITLY INCLUDES "JAPANESE RULING CIRCLES" AND THE U.S. AMONG THOSE WHO WORK AGAINST THE RELAXATION OF TENSIONS IN ASIA.

7. COMMENT. ANTI-PEKING PROPAGANDA IN THE SOVIET MEDIA, WHICH HAS BEEN NOTABLY MORE VOLUMINOUS IN RECENT DAYS, TAKES VARIOUS FORMS, BUT JAPAN IS GETTING A LARGER THAN USUAL DOES OF FALLOUT. IN THE CONVERGENCE OF EVENTS--SECRETARY SCHLESINGER'S VISIT AND THE RESUMPTION OF SPECULATION ABOUT THE TREATY WITH CHINA--THE SOVIETS SEEM TO SEE THE OUTLINES OF A MONSTROUS (FOR THEM) POSSIBILITY: A U.S.-JAPAN-CHINA QUASI-ALLIANCE. THEIR ALTERNATIVE IS THE ACS IDEA. BUT FIRST THEY MUST CONVINCE OTHERS, ESPECIALLY IN JAPAN, THAT THE DANGER IS REAL. THUS
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